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gether for raids against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the fact that level sites are very few, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. Although all the adult males of a hamlet are members of the same sib, the hamlets of a given sib are not necessarily contiguous, i.e., the descent groups are not completely localized. All the members of a sib theoretically descend from a common totem ancestor. Thus the three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the *Wanyi*, who descend from a pig, the *Hayamakwo*, who descend from a great fish hawk, and the *Tug*, who descend from the sago palm. Each of these sibs has a great many subsidiary totems, some of which are claimed by more than one sib. These lesser totems are variously identified with birds, reptiles, fish, trees, plants, and parts of the human body.

Each sib is divided into lineages each of whose component families claims descent from a legendary hero. The men of a lineage usually build their dwellings in a cluster which forms part of a hamlet. A lineage is composed of several family lines whose members descend from a common grandfather. The men of a single family line also build their houses near one another. The smallest unit and the most compact is that formed by the sons of a father.

Thus a man remembers four ancestors in the male line: his father, his grandfather, a culture hero who is thought to have been his great grandfather, and, finally, his totem ancestor who lived—according to Kwoma myth—back at the

[13] *pological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. III. The maps above referred to are: *Map of Sepik District* compiled by the Department of Lands and Mines, Rabaul, October, 1935, and *Sketch Map of Portion of Sepik District*, Sydney, 1935, Oil Search Ltd. Geological Survey.

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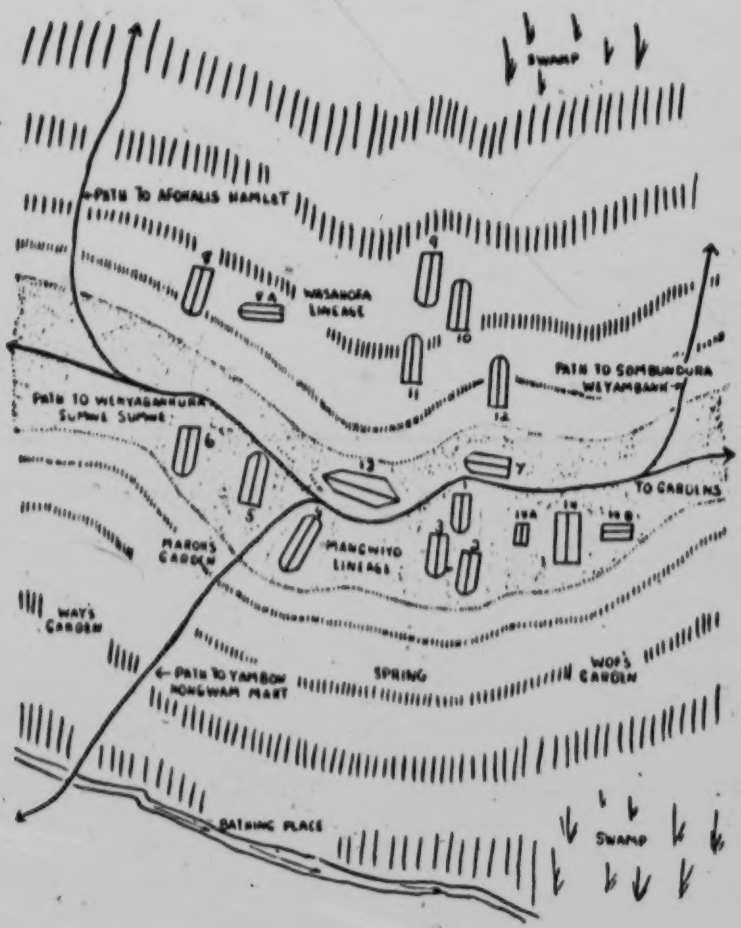

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RUMBIMA HAMLET (by household)

Mangwiyow Lineage

1. Wof = Kaya = Chinuwa[11]
   Uka Mey Kum
2. Yowaka Yawa
3. Mar Gwiyap Kwiya Awa Fit
4. War = Bora = Kuma Kar = Difa = Yame Kis = Amba = Sunga[12]
   Mano Haya Ham Suw Toka
5. Yat = Kafa = Gege
   Gwamp Njan
6. Way = Mbwimbwi
   Famba Gwanta Merik Kadowan
7. Marok = Dawi Uka
   Afi

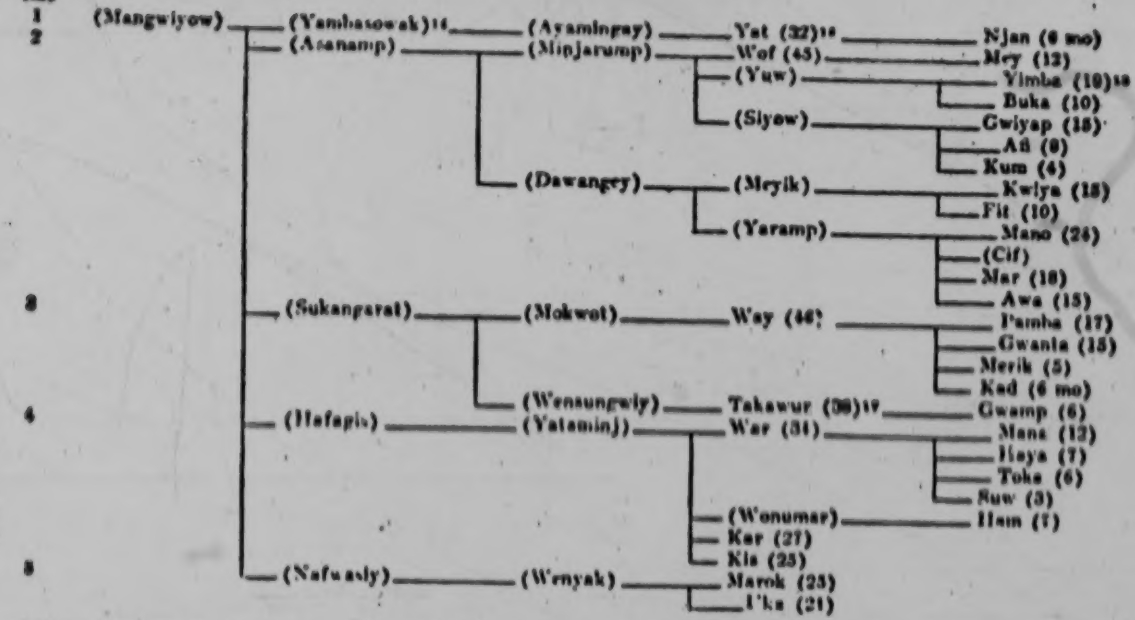
Wasahof Lineage

8. Waramus = Nawa
   (8a) Mra = Yimba Aya Kwos
9. Afok = Kumwe
   Kawaf
10. Fokotay = Ngwiya
    Hambo
11. Daw = Huwena
    Kayamaka Yawaka
12. Kwai = Gufo
    Angandim Angeyamar
13. Rumbima house tamberan
14. Houses of investigators
    (14a and b) Servants' quarters

[11] = denotes marriage, i.e., Kaya and Chinuwa are the two wives of Wof. Children are on the second line in each household, i.e., Uka, Mey, and Kum are Wof's children.

[12] War, Kar, and Kis are brothers. The children are those of War.

THE LINEAGE OF MANGWIYOW[12]



[12] Parentheses indicate that a person is dead. Numbers show approximate age. Female names are distinguished from male by vowel endings, a device for the reader's convenience, not a characteristic of Kwoma culture.

[13] The *brothers* in this generation are arranged from top to bottom in order of seniority, i.e., any man calls a *brother* above him in the list *older sibling;* he calls a *brother* below him in the list *younger sibling.*

[15] The shortened form of the names of living persons who appear frequently in the text has been used rather than the longer form. Thus the long form of Yat is Yatuminj, of Wof is Wofaraga, of Mey is Meyamukw. The shortened form is used by the Kwoma in intimate address or reference.

[16] Females of lineage still living in hamlet are included in this table.

[17] Does not live in the hamlet.

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

765 [534] [535]

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 621 361 614 613 773 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the one from which we gathered most of our information, is called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and hence belong to the *Hayamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 613 592 [114] [595] [597] [754] Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

621 592 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell-

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

[305] [307] [313]

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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister U'ka,[21] and his adopted daughter Ati, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

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THE LINEAGE OF WASAHOF

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621 592 [91] a niece of Wof." Mes has started to build a house for himself and Yimba near that of his father. There are no other members of Waramus' line dwelling at Rumbima.

[36] [154] A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house is the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He is married to a woman named Gufo and they have two boys, Angandim, a young child, and Angemar, an infant. Kwal's older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lives in the adjacent house with his strapping wife Huwena, and two girl [613] children, Kayamaka and Yawaka. These two families comprise the second line of the Wasahof lineage.

Two brothers head the third and final line of the lineage of Wasahof. They live together a little farther down the [156] path which passes by the last two households described. Fokotay (household 10, family line 6), the elder, is a jovial but rather ineffectual man of forty. He is married to Ngwiya, and has only one child, a little girl called Hambo. Afok (household 9, family line 6), a few years younger than Fokotay, has a keen sense of humor and is somewhat more [90] forceful than his older brother. Except for those who have worked for Europeans, Afok is the only adult who has made any attempt to learn pidgin. Although he has learned only a little, he seems to get considerable pleasure from the attempt. He lives with his wife Kumwe and their infant son Kawaf. Yawa, Mar's betrothed (household 3), is also a descendant of this line, her deceased father being a brother of Fokotay and Afok.

621 613 The Wasahof lineage thus numbers only fifteen living persons.[53] Six wives swell the group to twenty-one. The Mangwiyow lineage has thirty members and thirteen wives. This makes a total of sixty-four persons living in Rumbima ham- [124] let. Persons from the other five hamlets were interviewed primarily to check information gathered at Rumbima. The Mangwiyow lineage provided more material than did the Wasahof lineage, both because it was larger and because we

[53] A theoretically incestuous marriage.
[54] This does not include the women who have married and left the hamlet.

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were more closely associated with it. All our best informants —Yat, Kar, Kis, Mar, Mes, Gwiyap, and Mey—spoke pidgin English, and all were of the Mangwiyow lineage with the exception of Mes. They also acted as interpreters when those who spoke only Kwoma were questioned. Gwiyap, Mar, Mey, and Mes were hired as house and shoot boys so that they were virtually always around. This permitted a great deal of unobtrusive questioning and observation of their behavior.

A short statement of the social positions in which the Kwoma placed the investigators may be useful in order to indicate the direction of the biases and lacunae in the data. At first we did not fit into any of the simple categories into which they had divided Europeans. A summary of the history of Kwoma contact with whites will clarify what being white meant to them. The first contact was in 1913 when the Kwoma killed a police boy[1] connected with the Behrmann expedition, for raping one of their women. A Kwoma was shot in reprisal. From this time until the Australians brought them "under control" in 1928, the Kwoma had little contact with Europeans. Since then they have come only occasionally in touch with white recruiters, traders, missionaries, and Australian government officers.

According to their own retrospective accounts, the first conception which the Kwoma had of the whites was that they were unnatural beings. They called them *ngamba* (ghost), a word which is also used to refer to a person who commits some heinous crime. It corresponds roughly in meaning to the English words "inhuman," "monstrous," or "unnatural"; and it would appear that this feeling persists, to some extent, to the present day. After I had been living at Rumbima for about six months, I came back from bathing at the spring below Mar's house without bothering to put my shoes on. Awa and Kwiya were sitting under Mar's porch. I had become quite friendly with these two girls, as I had frequently gossiped and joked with them on my almost daily

[1] Natives trained by both the former German and present Australian territorial governments to act as constables under the orders of a white officer.

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father's friends.[17] His parents teach him that these children are his *friends*. He is told that he can visit and play with these children without fear of sorcery, and that he should be nice to them when they come to visit him.

A child is taught to fear and avoid non-relatives,[18] as has already been mentioned in connection with sorcery. He is also warned that they are dangerous for reasons other than sorcery. Non-relatives, he is told, not only do not help and protect him as his relatives do, but may even have little compunction about hurting him. In addition to warnings, the child receives many object lessons from the bitter exchanges of insults and threats of violence which occur not infrequently between the adults of the hamlet and those not related to them. He learns, on the other hand, that non-relatives belong to the same subtribe as his own family and that therefore there is a limit to their danger. He comes to understand that they and his relatives have a considerable community of interest; that they will stand together against aggression from outside; that they participate jointly in ceremonies and court meetings; and, finally, that a complicated web of kinship bonds interlaces the whole subtribe and holds it together. A boy learns the names of non-relatives. If he meets one of them he may exchange a brief greeting and gossip for a moment, but, in contrast to a meeting with a relative, he is reserved and anxious. He never enters the house of a non-relative unless accompanied by an older person, and seldom plays with unrelated children.

A child is taught that foreigners[19] are even more to be feared than non-relatives. Not only will they sorcerize him without shame, but they have little respect for his life or limb. He is told stories of head-hunting raids, and most Kwoma children actually experience a raid in which some acquaintance or relative is killed and decapitated by a group of foreigners seeking prestige.

[17] A ceremonial pseudo-kin relationship established at the time of initiation to adulthood.

[18] Unrelated members of the subtribe.

[19] A member of another subtribe who is not a relative by marriage.

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cut down the palm tree and remove a section of bark. The girl then crushes the pith, and the boy washes and squeezes it in a trough which he has constructed, allowing the milky juice to flow into a bark container set below the trough. A fine flour settles to the bottom of this container, and the water flows off. After a long morning's work a couple will have produced a sixty or seventy pound deposit of flour. The boy pours off the last of the water and wraps up the flour in a spathe. The girl places this bundle in her net bag and carries it up the mountain path to the dwelling on her back. The division of labor in sago making is maintained in part by the belief that, if a woman should do the man's part of the process, especially that of washing and squeezing the pith, the flour would be inedible.[6]

An adolescent girl takes the responsibility for cooking part of the family meal, presiding over a fireplace of her own instead of merely helping her mother. She prepares the vegetables for soup, boils sago flour, and roasts the meat. She and the older children share the meals which she cooks, thus relieving the mother from the task of providing for the whole family. The mother generally continues to cook for herself, her husband, and the smaller children. If there are two adolescent girls in a family, they usually share one fireplace and cooperate in the cooking. A girl must keep herself supplied with firewood and water.

At adolescence boys and girls must assume new gardening duties and become more specifically associated with the gardening group, which consists of from one to three adult *brothers* and their families.[7] They take their place in the gardening group of their father or, if the father has died, of a *maternal uncle*,[8] and begin to perform adult gardening tasks with the adult men and women of the group.

[6] Mar and Gwiyap, my houseboys, broke this taboo, a circumstance which will be discussed in chapter viii.

[7] There were six gardening groups in Rumbiuna hamlet, headed, respectively, by (1) Wof and Marok; (2) War, Kar, and Kis; (3) Yat and Way; (4) Waramus; (5) Afok and Fokotay; (6) Kwai and Daw. Gardening groups will be discussed in more detail in chapter vi.

[8] Gwiyap and Mar joined the gardening group of Wof and Marok. Mar, in addition, had to care for a garden which had been started by an older brother who had recently died.

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of furtive looking. Both Gwiyap and Mar, whenever they met an attractive girl, could and would report her appearance in detail, including a description of her breasts and genitals, although they had apparently obeyed all the precepts of Kwoma etiquette and kept their glance averted. 832

Boys often start their love making with their *sisters*. All the females of one's own sib and generation are termed *sister*, whether they are patrilineal parallel cousins of various degrees, or actually unrelated. It is theoretically taboo to cohabit with any related female, but in practice it depends on how closely she is related, the taboo being the more effective the closer the relationship. The factor of proximity[14] seems to lead a boy to choose his *sisters* rather than a non-relative with whom to learn to cohabit. He has a greater opportunity for arranging trysts with girls of his hamlet, since he is normally more frequently in their presence and he is not so conspicuous when he talks to them as when he speaks to a girl of another hamlet. Furthermore he runs less risk of being severely punished if he is caught, because there is a taboo on aggression between members of the same hamlet. Finally, he can more easily trust a *sister* not to claim she has been raped than he can a girl whom he knows less well and who has no reason to protect him against the consequences. Boys apparently resolve the conflict between the incest taboos, the advantages of proximity, and the prohibitions on intra-sib aggression by choosing the girls of their hamlet who are most distantly related.[15] 882 836 602 835 601 784

Gwiyap's exploits constitute a good example of the philandering of the Kwoma adolescent. He was a lively youth just past pubescence. One evening about a month after my arrival at Kwoma, I asked him if he had ever had sexual intercourse. He looked embarrassed and said noncommittally that he did not know. His confusion led me to suspect that 882 836 602 835 124

[14] Owing to patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, all the girls of the same generation in the hamlet are *sisters*. 601 621

[15] I have no information on what would happen if a girl became pregnant as a result of an affair with a *brother*. Probably she would claim that she had been impregnated by a non-relative. 597 748

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882 602 578 *sister's son* (i.e., between those with the fewest intervening relatives), the privilege of cutting sago properly belonged to War and not to Gwiyap. War commanded Gwiyap to stop cutting sago on Payap's plot, and also demanded that he pay for the flour that he had already taken. Gwiyap protested, but War threatened to break their relationship unless the damages were paid. Gwiyap decided that it would be dangerous to have as important a man as War against him, so he paid the fine and broke his relationship with Payap.[34] Had Gwiyap enjoyed a status equal to or higher than that of War,[35] he might have disputed the case with him. Under such circumstances he would have broken with War and maintained relationship with Payap until the matter was settled.

882 608 881 628 Both the age-grade and adulthood ceremonies bring a boy into "safe"[36] relationships with persons outside the hamlet who are not actually related to him. The person who initiates him into the age-grade cycle becomes his *ceremonial father*, and he becomes his sponsor's *ceremonial son*.[37] Henceforth they behave toward one another just as though they were relatives. Aggression is restricted between them. They may visit one another without fear of sorcery, and they are expected to support one another in disputes. As in the case of relatives, they may break relations with one another, but as long as the relationship remains "safe," it has the distinct advantage of expanding the number and geographic distribution of persons who need not be feared. As with the

[34] This breaking of relationship between Gwiyap and Payap was not an aggressive act, but simply meant that both he and War could not have a relationship with the same *mother's brother*. Gwiyap showed some resentment against Payap for allowing him to make the mistake and thus forcing him to pay damages to War. Actually Gwiyap lost nothing by the transaction because the obligation to pay Payap at the age-grade ceremony was now nullified.

[35] Gwiyap was an adolescent, whereas War was a middle-aged man of high standing in the community.

[36] A *safe* relationship is the converse of a broken relationship. The Kwoma term for this is *ma kieñ jiju*, literally "man good goes."

[37] *Ceremonial father* and *son* are of different sibs; hence they necessarily live in different hamlets.

[914] [921]

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476 relatives to help. All the members of the hamlet who do not
574 have pressing work of their own are expected to answer this
262 call and appear the next morning at the place where the
[203] work is to be done. The *brothers* of the married women of the
• [621] households who are giving the bee are also expected to help if they can. While the men work, the women prepare the feast. Then, early in the afternoon, after a long morning's work, the men stop and go to the house of one of the boss gardeners where the feast is to be given. The men form a separate group from the women, eat in a leisurely manner, smoke, chew betel, and indulge in horseplay between courses. After the meal the older men either gossip or nap while the boys tease one another and play. The work is over for the day. The Kwoma are perfectly familiar with the patterned behavior of these work parties, since they have participated in them frequently during childhood and adolescence. When they become adult they have to plan the work bees, direct the gathering of food, and announce the day.

241 The first task in gardening is to choose a site, a decision
31 which rests with the boss gardeners. They must balance the advantages and disadvantages of cultivating a plot in the
[317] hamlet or in an outlying district.[4] If the garden is planted
[231] near the dwelling, it has to be enclosed by a fence to prevent domestic pigs from rooting up the crop, but it is near at hand. If a site is cleared in an outlying district, it may take several hours to walk there, but it need not be fenced.

241 The garden site is usually cleared by means of a number
476 of work bees. Since it takes considerable time and effort to provide food for the feast, the task of clearing a site is nor-
[462] mally spread over several weeks, and sometimes months. The first task, which is performed by adolescent boys and men, is to climb the trees and lop off the branches in order to let sun down to the earth below. The old men and children clear the brush and stack it and the cut branches into piles for burning.

After the site has been cleared and the rubbish burned,

[423] [4] Property rights, also, determine the choice. The division and ownership of land will be discussed below.

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whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute. 423 619 [648]

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14] [692]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved. 423 621 692 578 [602] [613]

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus determined by a man's membership in the various groups described above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a 423 611 428

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids. [128]

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685 next day Yat sent a message to Sumwe Sumwe, announcing
628 that he had discovered that his pig blind had been destroyed
578 and that if they trespassed on his land again there would be trouble. The Sumwe Sumwe returned an equally aggressive message to the effect that Yat had built his blind on their property and that he had better not try to rebuild it. Angry and insulting messages flew back and forth most of the day. A few days later Yat again visited his pig blind, and on the way he met Dowar. Both of them were carrying their pig spears. After an angry exchange of insults, according to Yat, he challenged Dowar to a spear duel, but the latter threw down his spear and ran. Yat picked up the discarded spear and broke it against a tree. Then he returned home and boasted of his prowess at the house tamberan that evening. The topic for gossip was again that the Sumwe Sumwe were a bad lot and, in addition, were cowards. Many tales were recounted of their sexual depravity. Yat felt that Dowar had learned his lesson and would not interfere again. He said that if the offense were repeated, he would take the case to the patrol officer.[19]

685 Another case involved theft within the house-tamberan
• 621 group. Kafa, Yat's wife, began shouting angrily one after-
578 noon at Mar's betrothed, Yawa, accusing her of stealing sago grubs from a tree on her husband's plot. Yawa, being a rather cowardly and unaggressive girl, made a feeble denial, but Mar's mother and *aunt* immediately took over her defense and shouted invective in reply. Yat's other wife then joined in the argument, and for almost an hour the four women kept up a stream of insult, accusation, and threat. Now and again other women of the neighborhood would make a point on one side or the other, but none of the men joined in the argument. I asked Mar what he was going to do about it. He replied that it was a woman's argument and no affair of his. He was not very fond of his betrothed, and felt that she was a lazy good-for-nothing who had been foisted on him. He commented proudly on his mother's sharp

[19] If the dispute had continued it probably would have actually been settled at a meeting of the subtribal court.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

tongue, however, and told me that most of the women of the hamlet were afraid of her. Finally the shouting subsided, and that evening Yat and Wof, Mar's *uncle* and foster father, discussed the affair calmly, decided that Yawa was guilty of stealing the grubs, and arranged for Kafa and Yat to be repaid in kind with grubs taken from one of Mar's plots. When Wof returned home, he lectured Yawa severely for her offense and threatened to beat her if she did it again.

A Kwoma weds soon after he becomes adult. Adolescent courtship, culminating in the trial marriage in which the girl comes to live with the boy's parents, is finally terminated, if all goes well, by a special ceremony which makes the couple man and wife. The boy's mother determines when this ceremony shall take place. If she is satisfied with the girl and knows that her son is also, she tells her to cook the food for the afternoon meal. Hitherto the betrothed has cooked food only for herself, and the boy's food has been prepared by his mother or sisters. The mother chooses an occasion when the boy is away from the house, so that, when he returns, he begins eating his soup unsuspectingly. When he has nearly finished his first bowl, his mother informs him that it was his betrothed who cooked the meal and that he is now married. At this announcement, it is expected that the boy will rush from the house and exclaim as he spits out the soup: "Faugh! It tastes bad! It is cooked terribly."

After the wedding ceremony, the couple live together as man and wife, and the customs which regulate marital sexual behavior apply to them. They never sleep in the same bed but lie alone on separate bark slabs, joining only for copulation, which is performed with a minimum of embracing and foreplay. All informants insisted that a husband and wife should not sleep together. When I asked Gwiyap if he might not sleep with his wife on cold nights, he replied, "No, I would be ashamed to." I asked why and he replied, "It is a bad thing to do. The big men like my uncle War would be cross. It is his duty to take care of me and see that I do nothing wrong."[20]

[20] *Homba*, "shame" or "guilt" is the same word which Kwoma use to

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scalp. Most of the spectators formed a neutral group between Kwal and Daw. When they had discovered what had happened, they began to discuss the merits of the case and were divided in their opinion as to which brother was right. Since Kwal and Daw were real brothers, the only persons who could take sides, being more nearly related to one principal than to the other, were their wives and children. The children were not grown up, and their reaction was one of fear, but the respective wives stood, eyes blazing, with digging sticks in hand ready to join in the fray. When I asked the spectators their opinion of the affair, they said that after all it was Kwal's and Daw's business to fight if they wanted to, but that they were stupid to injure one another since brothers should stand together against trouble from an outsider rather than quarrel among themselves. This opinion represents the communal sanction which is imposed on fighting between brothers. As can be seen, the direct social control of fraternal aggression is minimal. From this it might be expected that fights between brothers would occur frequently. This case, however, was the only one in which brothers actually came to blows during a period of seven months. This indicates that the disadvantages of in-group aggression and the advantages of fraternal coöperation have been well learned during the socialization process.

When a fight occurs between *brothers* who are not closely related by blood, their relatives rally in support of them. If the dispute is not serious, it usually ceases after an exchange of invective. If the affair cannot be settled in this way, members of the hamlet who are not emotionally involved try to discover the blame and suggest a settlement. The discussion usually takes place by shouting from house to house, but sometimes the men will gather at the house tamberan and hold court. If even these measures fail to settle the dispute, a permanent rift may result, and the minority group may withdraw from the hamlet.

The division of a hamlet as a result of a dispute between its members is not uncommon in Kwoma society. Such a split had occurred in the not-too-distant past in each of the three

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621 578 [514] [346] [648] sibs of the subtribe in which I lived. Rumbima, for example, had at one time been the only hamlet of Hayamakwo. A number of years before my arrival a small group had seceded as a result of a quarrel which started when someone defecated in the house tamberan. Accusations and counteraccusations led to the formation of two groups who would not compromise. The smaller group left and moved to another locality to make a hamlet and house tamberan of their own. Some years later, the Australian Government, in a punitive expedition against the tribe, killed seventeen members of the two hamlets and burnt both house tamberans. During the process of rehabilitation, the two groups decided to recombine to build a single new house tamberan. In deciding the site for the new building, however, a new dissension arose, and a new fission resulted. The larger group built the house tamberan and the surrounding dwellings of the present Rumbima hamlet. There were not enough men in the other group to build a house tamberan, so they lived in a hamlet without one, and were therefore called *sumwe sumwe*, "without." Such fissions as these lead to deprivations which the Kwoma well appreciate. They weaken the defensive power of the in-group, and make large coöperative endeavors such as building a house tamberan more difficult. They even interfere with the cooperative work of building dwellings and clearing garden sites, easy tasks for a large number of men, but arduous for a few. The importance of these factors in controlling in-group aggression should not be underestimated. Parents continually stress their value.

593 578 [754] A Kwoma man sometimes reacts to annoyances from his wife by scolding or beating her; sometimes he submits to them. Although he has more practice in physical combat than she, knows how to use a spear, and is living among his own kin, who are pledged to support him, she too has some very effective weapons. She has access to his food leavings and other sorcery material, which she may take to a sorcerer if she becomes sufficiently angry. Of course, she does this in the face of the negative sanction against sorcery. The husband may even kill her if he discovers the crime. Nevertheless, she

KINDIMA HAMLET (by household)

621 Mwagriyow Lineage
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1. Wof = Kaya = Chimuwa[2]
   Buka May Kum
2. Yowaka Yawa
3. Nar Gwiyap Khiya Awa Yit
4. War = Bora = Kuma Kar = Di.a = Yawa Kis = Amba = Bunga[3]
   Mnao Kaya Kam Saw Toka
5. Yat = Kafa = Oaga
   Gwap Kjan
6. Way = Mwimbwi
   Yamba Gwanta Narik Kadowan
7. Marok = Dawi Uka
   Afi

Wasahof Lineage

8. Waramua = Kawa
   (Sa) Nas = Timba Aya Kwas
9. Afok = Kuwa
   Kawaf
10. Yokotay = Kgwiya
    Kambo
11. Daw = Kawana
    Kayamaka Yawaka
12. Kwal = Gufo
    Angandin Angayamar
13. Kumbima house tamberan
14. Houses of investigators
    (14a and b) Servants' quarters (Kamb and Wisap)

[2] = denotes marriage, i.e., Kaya and Chimuwa are the two wives of Wof. Children are on the second line in each household, i.e., Buka, May, and Kum are Wof's children. Names ending in a vowel refer to females, those ending in a consonant to males. This is an arbitrary distinction made for the reader's convenience.

614 The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. The three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the Wanyi, who descended from a pig; the Hayamakwo, who descended from a great fish hawk; and the Tug, who descended from the sago palm. The men of Kumbima hamlet where we lived, claim descent [613] from the giant fish hawk, and hence belong to the Hayamakwo sib. They divide themselves into two lineages; the larger claiming descent from the culture hero, Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 592 361 [613] [114] Mangwiyow reputedly had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendents of the five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2). He dwelt a few yards from our but with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chimuwa, his adopted son May (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a neice), and his stepson Kum (Chimuwa's son by her former husband). Wof was a man of about forty-five whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He had the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

Adjacent to Wof's house, the rather dilapidated dwelling of Towaka stood (household 2). She was an old woman who could not walk because of a great sore on her leg but who made up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She was the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). Living with her was Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Towaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster, was a tall gangling youth who had not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He showed marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appeared unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him lived his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children--

[i.e. Herd-Analyst]

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Eviya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's. Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, was a lad just past puberty, not yet fully grown, but extremely intelligent, very active and had learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Mmrok (household 7, family line 5). With him lived his wife Dewi, his married sister Uha, and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Mmrok was in his middle twenties, the only male of his age group in the hamlet who had not left for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he was also the only one who spoke no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Mmrok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). Mar, the oldest, a man in his thirties, was a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He had the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer, dancer, and a man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Emma, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Emma he had three children: Mana, and Meya, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Mmm, a nephew, about seven years old, also lived in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, an intelligent young man in his middle twenties, had just returned from working in the gold fields prior to our arrival and spoke pidgin English fluently. He had two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and spoke pidgin English. He also had two wives, Sanga and Ambe, but no children.

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Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by Wer, Kar, and Kis, stood that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Kar. He was the only man in the hamlet who had learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and had also taken a head. He had two wives, Kafa and Gogo, and one son, Njon (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There were no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yat's dwelling was one owned by Way (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who had some reputation as a sorcerer. With him lived his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Pambe and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Marik, just weaned, and Kadowan, a few months old. Way also had taken care of his nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takwar, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape Wer's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house was the dwelling of Waramwa (household 8, family line 7), who was about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He was slightly cross-eyed and had a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him lived his wife Mawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mbo, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Mwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimbe, who was the wife of Mbo and a niece of Wof.* Mow had started to build a house for himself and Yimbe near that of his father. There were no other members of Waramwa's line dwelling at Kumbima.

A short way down the mountainside from Maruk's house was the dwelling of Mwal (household 12, family line 8), a quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He was married to a woman named Ofo, and they had two boys, Angandin, a young child, and Angamar, an infant. Mwal's

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* A theoretically incestuous marriage.

621 older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lived in the adjacent house with
592 his stropping wife Hawana, and two girl children, Enyamaka and Yawaka.
361 These two families comprised the second line of the Waashof lineage.

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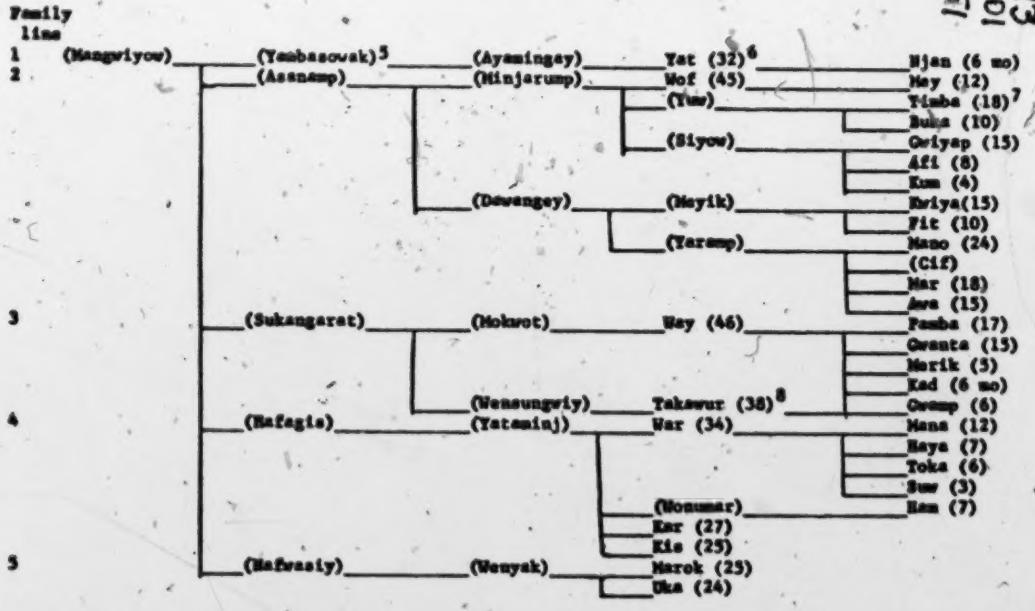
THE LINEAGE OF MANGWIYOW[4]



[4] Parentheses indicate that a person is dead. Numbers show approximate age. Female names are distinguished from male by vowel endings, a device for the reader's convenience, not a characteristic of Kwoma culture.

[5] The brothers in this generation are arranged from top to bottom in order of seniority, i.e., any man calls a brother above him in the list older sibling; he calls a brother below him in the list younger sibling.

[6] The shortened form of the names of living persons who appear frequently in the text has been used rather than the longer form. Thus the long form of Yat is Yatominj, of Wof is Wofaraga, of Mey is Meyamukw. The shortened form is used by the Kwoma in intimate address or reference.

[7] Females of lineage still living in hamlet are included in this table. [8] Does not live in the hamlet.

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THE LINEAGE OF WASOROF

173 At the beginning of the fight they speared Woyo, who was the leader
727 of the Ngaya, and his wife Mbuta. They killed his wife but Woyo was just wounded in the leg. They bound him to the central post of the house tamberan and tortured him there for several days by spitting betel pepper in his face and prodding him with spears, while they gathered food for a ceremony. Then they danced around him poking his face with lighted torches.
[266] At dawn they killed him, cut him up like a pig and made soup of him. Those who ate this soup became very strong and bold and thus were enabled to kill the rest of the Ngaya.

173 The Nowel people came next and settled with the Hongwan. The Yani came later and settled on a small mountain by the lake. Later they were driven out by the Yambon and Hongwan and went to their present site at Yessan. Today the lake separates their land.

173 Originally there were two hamlets of Hayamakwo sib--Ambunti and
621 Hambundu. A third hamlet was formed when a dispute arose over someone's
614 defecating in the Hambundu house tamberan. The group which split off called
361 themselves Sumwe Sumwe (without) because they were too small to build a
[578] house tamberan of their own. In 1928, Ambunti and Hambundu were burned down. The members of these two hamlets combined to build Rumbim, at present the largest group of the Hayamakwo. Members of Sumwe Sumwe, plus a few others who did not agree with the present site of Rumbima, formed another hamlet and have built a small house tamberan called Cumbeya Nampara. Ngwisempɵe and Weyanokw were segments of Hayamakwo which split off. Ngwisempɵe is now situated at Wenyabunkura and Weyanokw has been reabsorbed into Rumbima.

The Tug people lived up the Sepik far above Yessan. They came down and settled at Urambanj for a while but left there for lack of food and came to

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settle with the Hongwan. When they first came, their house tamberans were Wambon and Ambunti. They were situated close together near the sago on the east side of the mountain on which Wenyabunkura is situated. When the police raided in 1928, they did not burn Wambon and Ambunti, but the Tug went into the bush just the same. They did not return to Wambon and Ambunti, but built Weyambank. Awinow, a segment of the Tug sib, are now at Weyambankura. Urambanj is also a segment of Tug now at Afokalis.

Soubundura of the Wanyi sib now have their own house tamberan, but were formerly at Weyambank.

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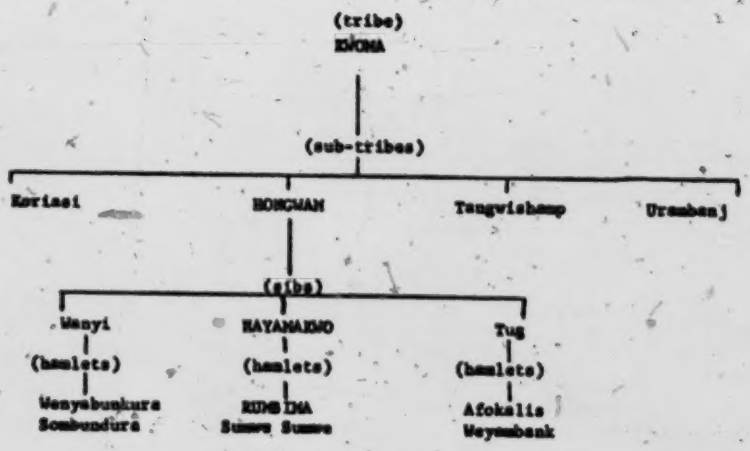

619 The Kwoma who live on these mountains are divided into five groups,
[921] Tangwishamp, Urambanj, Koriasi, Hongwam, and Yelagu. Although there is
[197] no political connection between any of these groups, and headhunting is carried on between them, the language and culture are identical in the
[197] first four of these. Yelagu language has a distinct but overlapping vocabulary and the structure of the language is similar enough so that they can communicate with each other. Their culture, from what little we know about it, is similar. Members of these groups intermarry and trade
[438] with one another despite the headhunting.

614 Hongwam is made up by the fusion of three ethnic groups, the Wanyi,
619 who were the first comers, the Hayamakwo second, and the Tug who came most
[773] recently. Each of these groups have a mythical ancestor, respectively the pig, the eagle, and the sago palm. Practically all birds, animals, fish, and vegetables are associated more or less definitely with one or the
[582] other of these groups. These groups do not function in controlling marriage which is determined by membership in the korump, or house tamberan group.

614 Wanyi had two functioning house tamberans, Hayamakwo one, and Tug
619 three. Beside these there are in each of the three groups several exogamous
621 units too small to build a house tamberan of their own. These latter groups are the result of a split in the korump from internal friction, of the migration of a small group of outcasts from another tribe, or of the inclusion of a remnant of a tribe which has been practically annihilated by a headhunting raid.

621 The korump is divided into little clusters of houses in which close
602 relatives dwell - usually brothers or father and grown sons. The household
592 itself consists of a man, his wife or wives, and a group of unmarried
736 children - not only his own, but more often than not, the children of his deceased brothers whom he is caring for.

Appendix 3

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INFORMANTS AND INDIVIDUALS OF RUMBIMA HAMLET

Note: The people of Rumbima Hamlet are indicated with respect to household, relations, kin, and age on pages 11, 13, and 17 of Becoming a Kwoma by John W. M. Whiting. Following is an alphabetically organized list of the names of these people along with some people from other hamlets who appear frequently in the text. A few characters who only appear once in the text are not included in this list. Sex is indicated by capitalizing the names of the males.

Name	Age	Lineage
AFALOWANJ	adult	Other. Wood carver.
Afi	8	Mangwiyow
AFOK	30	Wasahof
Amba	adult	Mangwiyow
ANGADIN	4	Wasahof
ANGIMAR	1	Wasahof
ASAHAMPA	adult	Other.
Awa	15	Mangwiyow
Aya	16	Wasahof
Bora	adult	Mangwiyow
Buka	10	Mangwiyow
Chimowa	adult	Mangwiyow
DAW, DAWANGI	36	Wasahof
Dawi	adult	Mangwiyow
Difa	adult	Mangwiyow
EVE	adult	A British oil search engineer.
Femba	child	Mangwiyow
FIT	10	Mangwiyow
FOKOTAY	35	Wasahof
Gege	adult	Mangwiyow
Gufo	adult	Wasahof
GWAMP	6	Mangwiyow
Gwanta	15	Mangwiyow
GWIYAP	15	Mangwiyow
HAMB	7	Mangwiyow
Haya	7	Mangwiyow
Huwena	adult	Wasahof
KADOWAN	6 mos.	Mangwiyow
Kafa	adult	Mangwiyow
KAR	27	Mangwiyow
KAWAP	2	Wasahof
Kaya	adult	Mangwiyow
Kayawaka	7	Wasahof
KEWARI	adult	Other
KIS	28	Mangwiyow
KOMB	adult	Other
KUM	4	Mangwiyow
Kuma	adult	Mangwiyow
KWALUMP	34	Wasahof
Kwiya	15	Mangwiyow
KWOWAI	adult	Other. Good hunter.
KWOWATI	young adult	Other. Had worked in gold fields. Spoke pidgin.

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Name	Age	Lineage
KWOS	8	Wasahof
LATAI	adult	Other. Good hunter.
Mana	12	Mangwiyow
MANO	24	Mangwiyow
MAR	18	Mangwiyow
MAROK	25	Mangwiyow
Mbwimbwi	adult	Mangwiyow
MERIK	5	Mangwiyow
MES	18	Wasahof
MEY	12	Mangwiyow
MOETSI	Old man of Mongwen - suspected of being a sorcerer.	
MUNDIK	young adult	Other
Nasaingamp	adult	Other. Of the coast. Wife of Nambomai.
NAMBOMAI	adult	Other. Of the coast. Houseboy.
Nawa	adult	Wasahof
NAWABAMEN	adult	Other. Thought to be a sorcerer.
Ngwiye	adult	Wasahof
NJAN	6 mos.	Mangwiyow
ROB OVERALL	adult	Recruiter
Pauba	17	Mangwiyow
PWISAMBI	adult	Other
SOF	adult	Other
SOWINAMBI	adult	Other. Cicatriser
SUKATAYA	adult	Other. Good hunter.
Sunga	adult	Mangwiyow
SUN	3	Mangwiyow
TAKAMUR	38	Mangwiyow
Toka	6	Mangwiyow
Uka	24	Mangwiyow
WAR	34	Mangwiyow
WARAMUS	50	Wasahof
WAT	46	Mangwiyow
WENYAMEKU	old man	Other
WINGAWI	adult	Other
WISEP	young adult	Other. From the coast. Houseboy.
WIYAMGAWC	adult	Other. Cicatriser.
WOF	45	Mangwiyow
Yama	adult	Mangwiyow
YAT	32	Mangwiyow
Yawa	15	Wasahof
Yawaka	3	Wasahof
Yimba	18 mos.	Mangwiyow